

April 1951

Volume 30

Number 349

# ***LABOUR ORGANISER***

## **CONTENTS**

**Rural Membership**

**Lessons of the 1950 General Election**

**An Agency Training Scheme at Work**

**Tools for the Job**

**There is Always a Better Way**

**Union Notes**

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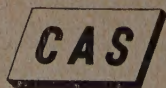
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# THE LABOUR ORGANISER

PUBLISHED BY THE LABOUR PARTY, TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

VOL. 30. NO. 349

APRIL 1951

PRICE FOURPENCE

## RURAL MEMBERSHIP

By CYRIL G. FAULKNER, Agent, Kettering

**THE** VIRILITY and financial stability of any Labour Party, more so perhaps a County Constituency Labour Party, depends in the main on the quantity and quality of its individual membership. This is fundamental.

The membership of any party ought not to remain static, because only a constant flow of new members will feed the reservoir from which leadership and ability is available. Therefore recruitment must be a continual process.

### Variations

I am always a little diffident about commenting upon—or advising what should be done in—rural constituencies, for the simple reason circumstances vary so much as between one constituency and another, that uniformity of action and method may not be practicable. What is meat for one might be poison to another!

Sometimes these variations are great. Geographical lay-out—distinction in types of social strata, availability of active workers—all of these factors have to be taken into account. Whatever plan or method is used it needs to be adaptable and flexible.

The Kettering Parliamentary Constituency covers a fairly large terrain. It comprises some 69 villages, four urban districts and the Borough of Kettering.

Some seven Local Government Authorities operate within its area. It is a mixture of agriculture and industrialism. In the northern sector there abounds highly-organised industries such as boot and shoe, clothing and garment making, engineering and the mighty steel works at Corby.

The southern part is mainly agriculture with a little iron-stone mining interspersed. Many of the villages in the near vicinity of Corby (now scheduled as a 'New Town') are mainly dormitory hamlets

for the steelmen who work at Stewart and Lloyds. Trade Unionism is strong and has evoked considerable political consciousness in these villages, which provide us with a core of solid Labour support. The one danger to be guarded against here is apathy and complacency.

In general there seems to be no great difficulty in enrolling new members in the rural areas, in fact, on balance, the rural areas show much more promise than some of the urban districts. The salient problem is purely an administrative one—that of maintaining the contacts once made and the regular collection of subscriptions. This is, I know, a constant headache for all party Agents. It is no mean task, because it calls for patience and persistence on the part of collecting stewards, who perform this vital and very important work. These people are the 'salt of the earth'.

I have no special magic to offer for the recruitment of new members and the collection of subscriptions. The only requisite essentials are a sufficiency of canvassers, collectors, regularity of calls, method, patience, and persistence.

### Invaluable Liaison

The collection of subscriptions is not the complete task of the collecting stewards. They act as invaluable liaison officers—disseminating news, items of interest, collecting and collating information which is vital to the agent who wants to keep and feel the pulse of his electorate.

The aim of large individual membership is not solely a financial one—we are out to create a solid core of Labour support which will withstand the blandishments of the opposition and which will stand firm—however much the political barometer may rise or fall.

# Lessons of the 1950 General Election

By A. L. WILLIAMS, Assistant National Agent

THE NEXT General Election occupies Party workers to the exclusion of the 1950 contest which, though fought only a little over a year ago, already is past history.

That great struggle, with its unsatisfactory outcome, is well worth studying. There are lessons to learn from it which can be applied in future elections.

*The British General Election of 1950*,\* by H. G. Nicholas, is a great help to such a study, though it is a pity that it confines itself in the main to the producing end and says little about the consumers' reactions. How do the electors really regard the efforts to woo them? For instance, would they feel insulted and refuse to vote for a candidate if he did not issue an election address? This book throws no light on questions of this kind.

## Election Addresses

It does contain a thorough-going analysis of the election addresses published in 1950, and Mr. Nicholas considers the election address to be 'one of the few literary art forms which has been thrown up by British politics'. Last year's election addresses seem to have been rather stereotyped, saying much the same kind of thing in much the same kind of way, though Labour addresses showed more variety of lay-out and colour than did Tory addresses.

In the main, the free post is used for distributing the election address. It is, therefore, governed by the Postmaster General's regulations concerning size and weight, so addresses seldom exceed 2,000 words in length.

The records for brevity and for length were won by two Northern Labour Members. Mr. O. G. Willey's address had 416 words, and Mr. D. T. Jones brought out a twelve-page booklet. The latter was a first-class effort and its originality alone must have made it a very effective piece of propaganda.

In view of the time, energy, and money expended on election addresses it is a great pity that there is no real measure of their worth.

Mr. Nicholas examines the way in which candidates spent their Election Expenses, the total of which amounted to £1,170,114. The Tory average expenditure per candidate at £777 was only slightly higher than the Labour average at £694 per candidate.

In 1950 much more was spent on printing and stationery than was customary before the war. In pre-war days the Tories budgetted for 30 per cent of the total expenditure to be on printing and stationery. The actual average percentage for all candidates making returns at the General Election was 61.1 per cent of their total expenditure. Paper and printing prices have risen steeply since then.

The average percentage expenditure on all items was as follows:

|                               |     |     |     |       |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Agents                        | ... | ... | ... | 7.7   |
| Clerks                        | ... | ... | ... | 5.6   |
| Printing, Stationery, etc.    | ... | ... | ... | 61.1  |
| Public Meetings               | ... | ... | ... | 5.8   |
| Committee Rooms               | ... | ... | ... | 4.6   |
| Miscellaneous matters         | ... | ... | ... | 9.7   |
| Candidates' Personal Expenses | ... | ... | ... | 5.5   |
|                               |     |     |     | <hr/> |
|                               |     |     |     | 100.0 |

The £1,170,114 expenditure relates only to the period of the General Election itself and takes no account of money spent in building up the party machine and conducting propaganda before the election.

The Tories doubled the number of their fully-qualified agents between October 1945 and February 1950. In England and Wales, by the time of the General Election they had in 527 out of 542 constituencies full-time party officers in charge. The number of Labour Party full-time officers in the constituencies before the General Election was less than 300.

According to Mr. Nicholas, in Birmingham, in addition to the chief agent and his staff, including a Women's Officer, a Young Conservative Movement Organiser, Publicity Officer, Political Education Officer and an Organisation Officer, each of the thirteen constituencies had its own full-time agent with secretarial assistance. Similarly, all but one or two of the thirty-eight wards had its Organiser, and there



were thirty or more full-time 'missioners' or paid canvassers and subscription collectors.

By contrast the Labour Party had a full-time Borough Party Secretary and a full-time Organiser. Despite this, nine of the seats were held by the Labour Party, the Tories securing only four.

In Liverpool, Mr. Nicholas says the Tory election organisation was weak and only in one constituency was there a professional agent. In the old Parliament before redistribution there were eleven seats, eight of which were held by Labour. The Liverpool seats were reduced to nine by redistribution, and the Tories won five and Labour only four.

The cynic may be inclined to ask if a full-time staff is worth its cost when measured in terms of seats and votes.

What it does show is that even a super-charged machine can do no more than ensure that the maximum number of supporters go to the poll: it cannot compel opponents to vote for its candidates. In 1950 the maximum Tory vote was polled in Liverpool as well as in Birmingham.

### Broadcasting

The effect of broadcasting on elections is brought home by the figures of the percentage of the adult population the B.B.C.'s Audience Research services estimate listened to the broadcast speeches of the political leaders. Mr. Churchill is estimated to have had an audience of 51 per cent and Mr. Attlee, on the following night, an audience of 44 per cent. The most popular Tory speaker, next to Mr. Churchill, was Dr. Charles Hill, whose audience it is estimated was 42 per cent. Mr. Ernest Bevin drew an estimated audience of 40 per cent.

In view of the ease with which electors can listen at home to speeches by the party leaders, it is not surprising that election meetings where 'local' speakers 'hold the fort', no longer draw the audiences they used to do. The need for greater publicity and the better arrangement and planning of election meetings is apparent.

Redistribution hit the Labour Party, but there was nothing much that could be

done about it. Something could have been done about the postal vote. Undoubtedly, our failure to take full advantage of this new facility cost us at least ten seats.

The average number of valid postal votes per constituency was 756. Since it is certain that a majority of the postal votes went to the Tories and the number of postal votes was higher in seats won by the Tories than it was in seats won by Labour, it is obvious that the Tories won seats just because they did exploit fully the postal vote facility. In Stroud, for instance, the Tory majority was only 28 and there were 1,630 valid postal votes. Other constituencies where the Tory majority was 50 per cent, or less, of the valid postal votes included Spelthorne, York, Pudsey, North Dorset, Shipley, Chislehurst, Peterborough, West Woolwich, Bexley, Bromsgrove, and Lanark. All of these, with the exception of North Dorset, previously were Labour seats.

Mr. Nicholas takes the view that the postal vote results represent a 'bonus for literacy'. If he is implying that Tory supporters are more literate than Labour supporters he is quite wrong. The truth is that in most constituencies the Labour organisation failed to secure an adequate registration of Labour supporters as Absent Voters. There are many Labour electors who are eligible to be registered as Absent Voters and if they are not registered the fault lies with ourselves.

There are a number of errors which should be corrected in any new edition of the book. 'The hire of vehicles' for the conveyance of electors to the poll not only 'had long been unpopular' but had been expressly forbidden by law before the 1949 Act. Mr. Maurice Webb was not the Chairman of the Labour Party, but was Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Labour manifesto was not entitled *Let Us Go Forward Together*. Its correct title was *Let Us Win Through Together*.

This is a book well worth studying, not only by election agents, but by all who take an active and intelligent part in politics.

\* *The British General Election of 1950*, by H. G. Nicholas, MacMillan, 21/-.

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# An Agency Training Scheme at Work

By **KEN PARKER** and **RON SIMMONS**, Assistant Organisers,  
City of Leicester Labour Party

**N**EARLY TWO YEARS AGO, while the National Executive Committee and the Agents' Union were still discussing a Training Scheme for Agents, the Leicester Borough Labour Party, after consultation with Transport House, took a practical step in the right direction by appointing two young men as Assistant Organisers to work under the direction and guidance of C. V. Woods, O.B.E., the full-time Borough Secretary. This was the beginning of an Agency Training Scheme in actual operation. Let us examine it and discover how it is working.

Except for a very short period pre-war, Constituency Labour Parties were unknown in Leicester, and the emphasis was all on central organisation, due probably to the compactness of the borough.

## Unique Constitution

Shortly before these two appointments, however, the Party adopted a new and unique Constitution framed to embrace all the advantages of Divisional Parties within a borough without any of the disadvantages.

Instead of the Constituency Labour Party a new body called a Division Co-ordinating Committee was set up. Four such committees were convened, one for each Parliamentary constituency. These Co-ordinating Committees can best be described as Campaign Committees and are responsible for matters of organisation, education and propaganda.

Although there is nothing laid down in the Constitution, it is an unwritten law that these Committees do not deal with resolutions or discussions on policy (there is plenty of scope for this at meetings of the Borough Management Committee) but get down to the essential job of organising for victory.

With the appointment of two Organisers, it was natural that each take responsibility for two of the Committees, as it was felt that they would be the best medium through which they could carry out their duties. This 'two-Division-each' arrangement was far from rigid however, and it was understood from the beginning that both Organisers work as a team and direct their activities wherever they are most needed in the borough.

In order that the Party organisations within a constituency work to a well-defined plan, the Organisers prepare and present a twelve-month programme to the Division Committees.

The programmes embrace, firstly, the all-important task of publicising the Parliamentary candidate and paving the way to victory through propaganda campaigns with the excellent publications issued by Transport House; secondly, the building up of the election machine through increased membership and more efficient organisation; and thirdly, the very necessary job of educating the members in Party Policy and the realisation that they too are missionaries in the organised Socialist advance.

Such comprehensive programmes could never be carried out successfully if directed from the Party Office by 'chair-bound organisers', and it is realised that in a movement such as ours, voluntary workers must be led and not driven. Consequently, the Organisers have taken their share of all activity and shown by example that they are not asking members to do what they are not prepared to carry out themselves.

The problem of how to adapt the existing organisation to meet the needs of the Party during a General Election was solved well before that election arrived. Realising that it would be totally unsatisfactory for an Organiser to act as Agent for two constituencies, two party members with a wealth of electioneering experience were recruited, and when the election broke, joined the Organisers, thus making one Agent for each constituency. This worked extremely well and has already been adopted as procedure for the next round, whenever it may come.

## Divided Boroughs Should Consider

This then, in a nutshell, is what has been happening in Leicester during the past two years. It is a scheme still in the experimental stages. Under a watchful eye, two Organisers have been learning the 'tricks of the trade'.

As a long-term policy, it is felt that such a scheme will result in a higher standard of Agency Service and divided boroughs should look to the future and seriously consider following Leicester's lead.



# Paddington Makes Sure of 'Y' Voters

By ROY JACKSON, Chairman, North Paddington League of Youth

NORTH PADDINGTON LEAGUE OF YOUTH has been busy lately carrying out a membership drive among new young electors. The campaign was based on 'Y' electors included in the March Electoral Register.

The constituency may be classed as a marginal, held by Labour, therefore the 255 'Y' electors are of vital importance. The campaign aimed at converting the doubtfuls as well as bringing in new members.

To achieve this it was decided that a big propaganda effort was needed. As a basis for this effort we used our own magazine *The Young Social Democrat*.

A special edition of this duplicated magazine was published. It contained, among other things, a message from our Member of Parliament stressing the importance of the vote and articles from Leaguers on the League of Youth and Branch activities.

The only controversial article was one pointing out the difference between a Socialist and a Conservative Foreign Policy.

A copy of the magazine was sent to every newly qualified voter, together with a covering letter inviting him, or her, to a meeting of young voters and a conducted tour of the House of Commons.

Speaker at the meeting was our own M.P., who also acted as guide on the tour.

Next, each officer of the Branch was given the task of calling on the 'Y' voters. This meant about fifty calls for everyone concerned.

Each new voter was to be called on personally, encouraged to attend the special meeting, take part in the tour and if possible, an effort was made to gauge their political leanings.

## Making Contact

Our hardest task was making the essential personal contact and in many cases this contacting had to be done through the parents.

Statistically, the results of the canvass were surprising. We found that almost ten per cent had removed due, in the main, to recent marriages.

We also found that the 'fors' equally balanced the 'againsts' and that the

doubtfuls were in the main, genuine cases of people who had not made up their minds which way to vote.

Our canvassers were well received and among those visited there appeared to be considerable enthusiasm towards our mission. The Young Tories in the district helped to whip up this enthusiasm by carrying out a propaganda campaign themselves at the same time, ostensibly to undercut our efforts, complete with literature prepared by their Central Office.

We paid particular attention to those who, during the canvass showed themselves as being interested supporters or doubtfuls. Among such potential voters we found it useful to give away copies of the broadsheet *Life Begins At Sixteen* and the League's magazine, *Advance*.

A last-minute reminder was sent out a few days before the special meeting and tour.

This meeting was arranged specifically as just an ordinary Branch meeting, at the usual time and place, giving the feeling of a Branch meeting, even to the tea and cakes.

## 'Doubtfuls' Converted

Of course the night of the meeting had to be a 'stinker' where the weather was concerned, but a surprising number of non-members turned up and after the M.P. had spoken and everyone had had their say at question time those who came as 'doubtfuls', left converted.

The visit to the House of Commons was also a success. It was good publicity and gave people the opportunity of getting to know one another.

All told we are quite pleased with the results and feel that the organisation and hard work needed were certainly well spent.

Every 'Y' voter now knows that our League of Youth exists as an active body and a register is being built up from information found.

Such activity is within the bounds of possibility for every branch of the League no matter how small it may be, or where it may be. And by concentrating on the new voters you will be helping your parent party and through them, the Labour Movement and the country as well.

# Tools for the Job—and they are not a favour

Says FRED CULLEN, Secretary-Agent, Romford

**G**IVE US THE TOOLS and we'll do the job! We have all heard that before somewhere—but it is strange how few think of it in connection with the Party Offices.

Give us the tools! How many Agents on being appointed find that they are given no more than some old broken-down typewriter built before they were born—and the Party expects efficiency.

Maybe often this is merely thoughtlessness on the part of the Party, because if the members have got so far as to appoint a full-time Organiser they cannot be accused of not wanting efficiency.

It then becomes the responsibility of the Agent to advise his Party that a well-equipped and properly laid out office is essential to his job. He must not feel that he is asking a favour, as though it is a matter for his personal comfort.

Admitted, good conditions will make him, or her, more comfortable and his fellow Trade Unionists in the Party should not begrudge him the conditions which they demand from their employers. But let the Agent make it clear that this is not the only reason for introducing businesslike methods into our organisation.

It is a question of pounds, shillings and pence, of spreading the Party's influence and of getting more support at the polls.

Good office accommodation and the tools for the job enable the Agent to give the Party much more value for their money. Besides being matters which should concern the conscience of any good Trade Unionist it is also a question of 'good business' for the Party.

## Business Proposition

Let us look at it as a business proposition. We know the usual arguments that are put up; in the old days we jogged along all right without office equipment and we managed without full-time Agents. Quite true, and it is not so long ago that business houses managed quite successfully without railways, motor-cars, telephones, typewriters and so on—but things have changed. We are now living in 1951.

Of course some will say that the Party cannot afford offices or office equipment, indeed some will say that we cannot afford Party Agents and will talk in the strain that such things are luxuries.

Just jogging along will not do today. Political organisation has become a highly technical craft and like all craftsmen the organiser too requires tools. In this specially-written article the writer, who has considerable experience in office management, tells you what some of these essential tools are.

Those who would have us hang on to grandfathers 'Left-offs' are a menace, but strangely enough their memories are not so good, they forget that our financial problems are nothing to the struggles of grandfather's days. It is not good enough to dismiss the matter on financial grounds, that is a lazy way out.

The Party must face up to the task: ways and means must be found to keep the Party up to date, otherwise we shall find ourselves outdone by our opponents.

Party Organisation and electioneering today must be managed as a large business concern and nothing less than what is good enough for the well-run modern business house should be available to the Party Office. What then, are the Agent's office needs?

Firstly, let me say a few words about his office accommodation. Two small rooms are much better than one large one—even if you have not got as many square feet.

The second room, though hardly big enough to swing a cat around in, will at least provide the Agent with a haven to get on with his job, a place where he can shut himself off from the well-meaning but nevertheless troublesome bores who will congregate in the office when they have nothing else to do.

You can deal with them when they come singly, but when a company gathers and some meaningless discussion opens up, well, then is the time to withdraw into the sanctuary and leave 'em to it.

Plump for two rooms, or partition off a large one and insist from the start that the one which the Agent is going to use as his workshop is the Agent's Private Office and keep everybody out of it. Do this from the very beginning and people will soon get used to it and will not



expect the free run of the Agent's office any more than the company's shareholders expect, or ever get the chance, to have the free run of the managing director's private office.

There is no question of snobbery about this, it is just common sense, and surely most of our colleagues have plenty of that, but, as we know, some are a little thoughtless.

The second room will be used as the Reception Room and should always be kept neat and clean. It is here that the Agent will meet all callers, some of whom will not be Party members and we must give them a good impression of the Party's Headquarters.

But at the moment we are primarily concerned with the Agent's private office, which will be his workshop. Therefore, let us make sure that it is equipped as such. Let us have a fairly large table or desk, at least one comfortable chair and three or four letter trays. A telephone is essential and it is a good plan to have an extension line in the reception room. This is only a matter of a few shillings extra per quarter and is well worth it. Be careful about the choice of a typewriter: get something substantial, a good heavy machine that will cut a clean stencil. The outlay on a good reliable machine will be a few pounds more, but it will be wise economy in the long run.

#### **Penny Wise, Pound Foolish**

Next we need a modern duplicating machine. Great strides have been made in the last few years by manufacturers, so do go in for something up-to-date.

The writer has tried a number of the best known makes and is convinced that the best machine for the Party Office is the Roneo 500 Series II. This is a multi-colour machine and its operation is simplicity in itself. It takes 500 sheets at a time, has a very reliable automatic feed, can be set to the number of copies required and you can change from one colour to another in a matter of seconds. What is very important, it is clean to handle. The hand model is £80 and the electric model is £115. Each of these is supplied with drums for any two colours and there is a range of fourteen colours. Additional drums can be purchased to have other colours always available at £5 each. You can, however, wash out and

change the colour in any drum if you wish, but this is a messy job and is not advised.

True, you can get machines for less, but you do not buy a duplicating machine every day and therefore when you do, get something that is really efficient.

Another important item of equipment, which no Party Office should be without, is an addressing machine, and in this matter too, Roneo, Ltd., have produced just the job for our purposes. Their model costs, to-day, £25, is light and portable, and can be operated by a child. It requires no costly plates which have to be sent away for cutting, you cut the stencils yourself on an ordinary typewriter and they are ready for use immediately. The cost of 500 addresses is about £7 10s., but they last indefinitely.

#### **Time Saving**

An Addressing Machine can save much of the time taken up by the Agent in routine matters and by having a stencil cut for every street in the Constituency, complete with full postal address, the time taken up in writing envelopes for elections can be cut by half because all that the writers have to do is to fill in the elector's name and number in the street.

A useful accessory to the addressing machine is another Roneo product called a Metal Fastening Machine, costing £6, and which fixes the stencil to the stencil card. However, the Fastening Machine can be dispensed with and the stencils fixed with glue, but it is not such a satisfactory or such a clean job.

Next in this list of moderate demands should be a steel filing cabinet. Instead of this you might be able to persuade a carpenter of a cabinet maker to knock up a wooden one. Perhaps the fellow who objects to you buying a steel one will make one for you!

In concluding, and in wishing less fortunate Agents good luck in their efforts to obtain necessary office accommodation and equipment, let me put the position like this. All the equipment which has been referred to will cost no more than about £180 if you buy the best and it will all last for at least ten years. In other words the cost spread over this period will work out at no more than 30s. a month—and you will save that in printing costs with the duplicator alone.



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# CALENDAR FOR URBAN COUNCIL ELECTIONS

(ENGLISH)

Compiled by PAT CAVANAGH

| DAY OF ELECTION (Polling Day) ..   | FRIDAY,<br>4th MAY                                  |           | SATURDAY<br>5th MAY |            |
|--|---|-----------|---------------------|------------|
|  | Urban   | Rural     | Urban               | Rural      |
| Publication of Notice of Election by ..  | 11th April  | 9th April | 12th April          | 10th April |
| Delivery of Nomination Papers by NOON on .. .. .   | 18th "  | 16th "    | 19th "              | 17th "     |
| Delivery of notices of decisions on nominations and publication of statement as to persons nominated by noon on .. | 19th April  |           | 20th April          |            |
| Declaration in writing of name and address of office of Election Agent by NOON on .. .. .                          | 20th "  |           | 21st "              |            |
| Delivery of notices of withdrawals by NOON on .. .. .  | 20th "  |           | 21st "              |            |
| Requests for extension of polling hours by NOON on .. .. .   | 20th "  |           | 21st "              |            |
| Notice of Poll .. .. .   | 28th "  |           | 30th "              |            |
| Notice of appointment of polling and/or counting agents .. .. .  | 1st May   |           | 2nd May             |            |
| Day of Election .. .. .  | 4th "   |           | 5th "               |            |
| The Count .. .. .  | As soon as practicable after the close of the poll  |           |                     |            |
| Claims to be sent to election agent in respect of election expenses ..   | Within 14 days of day on which results are declared |           |                     |            |
| Payment, by agent, of claims to election expenses .. .. .  | Within 28 days of day on which results are declared |           |                     |            |
| Return and Declaration of agent as to election expenses .. .. .  | Within 35 days of day on which results are declared |           |                     |            |
| Declaration by candidate as to election expenses .. .. .   | Within 7 days of actual date of declaration         |           |                     |            |
|  | NOTE: With the exception of Polling                 |           |                     |            |



# AND RURAL DISTRICT IONS, 1951

D WALES)

nal Agent's Department

| MONDAY,<br>th MAY |            | TUESDAY,<br>8th MAY |            | WEDNESDAY,<br>9th MAY |            | THURSDAY,<br>10th MAY |            |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Urban             | Rural      | Urban               | Rural      | Urban                 | Rural      | Urban                 | Rural      |
| 1st April         | 11th April | 14th April          | 12th April | 16th April            | 13th April | 17th April            | 14th April |
| 1st               | 18th "     | 21st "              | 19th "     | 23rd "                | 20th "     | 24th "                | 21st "     |
| 1st April         |            | 23rd April          |            | 24th April            |            | 25th April            |            |
| 3rd "             |            | 24th "              |            | 25th "                |            | 26th "                |            |
| 3rd "             |            | 24th "              |            | 25th "                |            | 26th "                |            |
| 3rd "             |            | 24th "              |            | 25th "                |            | 26th "                |            |
| 1st May           |            | 2nd May             |            | 3rd May               |            | 4th May               |            |
| 3rd "             |            | 4th "               |            | 5th "                 |            | 7th "                 |            |
| 7th "             |            | 8th "               |            | 9th "                 |            | 10th "                |            |

declared.

declared.

declared.

return.

refer to the latest day by which the appropriate action must be taken.

# THERE IS ALWAYS

JOHN M. SMITH CONTINUES

ADVERTISING IS THE MECHANICS of getting your message across and anything which is likely to do this more cheaply or expeditiously is worth looking into. Distribution of printing is the most wasteful part of many election campaigns and, while it is the ultimate effect that matters, great economies can be effected with a little forethought.



There is a large market for literature during elections when interest is at its height. Sell it. Even if you only recover half the cost you will be able to distribute twice as much for the same outlay. But there must be adequate organisation. Decide whether an item is to be sold or distributed free; then stick to the decision.

An important consideration is the sales saturation point. I have found this to be about two thousand for the popular pictorial but this may vary and will be lower with a greater available choice. A campaign badge, now permissible, is an excellent form of publicity which pays for itself.

As to quantities for free distribution. One Election Address to each elector is an atrocious waste. I can hear someone saying: 'But you *must* send a communication to every elector'; and with this I would heartily agree. But, while many households get several daily papers few get more than one copy of the same paper.

Number of households can be found by taking four-tenths of the electorate. For the Election Address add ten per cent but for other leaflets the nearest round figure will do. 'Vote To-day' leaflets required will be half the total Labour households.



Posters depend entirely on available sites and it is good business to set about finding them now. It is astonishing how many posters are bought in hope but with little prospect of being seen by the public.

Chart and Check. If you have ever been sent to deliver handbills only to be told by residents that the area has already been done, you will know how damaging this can be to prestige and morale, apart from the waste of time and money. The *Labour Organiser* has published illustrations of suitable charts while there is a stock ruling, Guildhall 73 X, which is ideal for this and numerous other purposes.

When assigning people to this job, do not underestimate their capacity. An active person can go from door to door in a built-up area at the rate of two hundred per hour, and one adult carrying material and directing four or six boys can achieve a rate of a thousand. It is most important, however, to fold to letter-box size beforehand.

For posters you may decide to use commercial boardings, in which case you should be aware that you will have to pay special rates. You will therefore be quite justified in insisting on value for your money. Get a list of site numbers in advance and book only those which are of definite value. It is a good plan to book sites for alternate weeks but if you do book any for a period, see that they are kept fresh and posters replaced if they become torn. Insist that all your instructions are followed to the letter. You will be paying top rates anyway.



Hoardings on railway property cannot be used for propaganda, but announce your opening rallies with the candidate's name in big letters and they will serve just as well. You may manage to get some free sites on gables or on front of committee rooms. If you employ a commercial bill-poster, make sure the agreement includes stripping or it may prove expensive in the end.

The greatest possibilities are in gardens and house windows and the secret of getting a good show is to make it easy. Deliver the posters ready mounted on cardboard of a convenient size with string attached. Prepare a list now of a few people in each street willing to dis-



# A BETTER WAY

## MORE FOR YOUR MONEY' SERIES

play a poster and you will be amazed how you can build up a show once the ice is broken. Window posters must be neat, not too large and ready gummed at the corners or they will meet with an untimely end. For meetings, do not overlook the obvious—the board outside the hall, which is usually available without extra charge.

Avoid 'prestige' advertising in the Press. Sales statistics show that small displays bring in more business in proportion to cost. This can be seen from the week-end editions of some daily papers. Do not overlook the value of the classified columns. One well-known branded article advertised regularly in this way has been able to dispense entirely with displays.

Local papers are of most value. When you advertise in the nationals you pay high rates for a circulation which is of no use to you. Ascertain the circulation within your own area in all cases. When placing adverts, know the deadlines to avoid late charges and get best positions. Eliminate superfluous words, specify number of inches, single or double column and ask for your advert to be 'boxed'. This will make it stand out even if it is not the largest on the page. Make news, do things, create pictures for the nationals and don't forget those Letters to the Editor.



You may have considered having your Election Address made as a folder, but the freedom of action and other advantages of using envelopes outweigh this saving. Get full value from the free post. This is too often treated in a mechanical manner when a little thought would add punch to your campaign.

Read the regulations again and note they do not say that every package must be the same or that they must be unsealed. What they do say is that the contents of each batch must be the same and that one unsealed sample of each must be produced. Two other points to note. You can send up to two ounces to each elector and, by placing a deposit, have deliveries before nomination.

Take full advantage of these provisions. Write one envelope for every elector.

Extract postal voters, proxies and all known removals for special letters. Divide the remainder into two bundles, first envelope of each household in bundle number one and next in number two. Where there are more than two voters in the household start at the first bundle again. Number one is then put aside for the Election Address and number two got out as soon as possible with secondary material. You might try a further subdivision, sending special material to different groups: e.g. men and women, 'Y' voters, etc. This is done very effectively by our comrades in Denmark where the Registers give more detail.

The Post Office will also help your organisational work. Get the first batch away early and have them franked by addressograph or rubber stamp: 'With the compliments of A. Champion, the Labour Candidate. If undelivered please return to Head Post Office, Hometown'. The envelopes returned will quickly put you on the track of any removals to be traced.

Use the two ounce limit. Even outside elections, it is very effective to enclose a few copies of the latest leaflets when writing to affiliated organisations, and other supporters. Try duplicated circulars to advertise meetings in scattered areas posting one to each household, except known Tories. This is more effective than ordinary handbills, and cheaper.

Loud speakers can waste money and destroy goodwill. Mounted on fast-moving cars they are worse than useless. Remember your object is to make converts and you won't do that by waking the baby. Persistent blaring may get audiences for meetings but can lose you support. One Party I know had a small trailer which they could use without a car. Incidentally, choose your announcers carefully. I heard one, who had an otherwise pleasant 'burr', declaiming that the candidate would be supported by another 'rousing' speaker.

The moral is: Keep your eyes and ears open: Take nothing for granted: Use your imagination: There is always a better way.

# Union Notes

By L. H. M. HILLIARD, Secretary, Agents' Union

EARLY IN THE YEAR I made some reference in these notes to the new minimum rate for car allowances to Constituency Agents where the use of a vehicle owned by the agent had been authorised by the Constituency Labour Party.

This rate was a national agreement reached between the Union and the Labour Party's Adjustments Board and, under the terms of the model agreement relating to agency employment, such national agreements on salaries and conditions of service are binding upon the local parties who are employing bodies.

In the main the new rates have been accepted and are being operated and in cases where very heavy demands are made higher allowances have been negotiated, locally. In a few isolated cases despite the Union having brought the matter to the attention of a Constituency Labour Party clarification has been sought from the Labour Party, which seems to indicate that Transport House should undertake, what the union has repeatedly pressed, to circularise all local parties with details of agreements reached or settlements effected relating to the employment of a Full-time Agent. Much misunderstanding and confusion would be eliminated if this were done.

## Motor Cars

The possibility of the Labour Party being able to offer some practical help in the purchase of cars for agency work is still under review and the Union have presented the Chairman of the Finance sub-committee with a memorandum and some relevant facts on the matter.

Of course there are considerable difficulties and we appreciate the Party's position. It is clear that, financially, if something could be done it would tend to be limited in scope but this is not so important for the percentage of agents, or parties, who would wish to take advantage of such a scheme would not be very high.

It would seem that the need is greatest in rural divisions and it might be possible to do something in this direction. One thing is clear—the Party is prepared to take suggestions of this kind from the Union and to consider them sympathetically and in detail and we shall hope to have more information on this subject

when the Adjustments Board meets next.

The Union's own badge is now available to members upon application, and can be obtained in either stud or brooch pattern at 1s. 6d. Symbolic of our close association with the Party the basic design incorporates the Labour Party's insignia but is much smaller and neater and is 'pierced' so that the central motif stands out.

The letters 'N.U.L.O.E.A.' and the date of formation are finished in silver on a crimson base around a circular border. Badges will be forwarded to members (please quote membership number) on request and receipt of postal order to cover cost, and the Executive Committee hope that they will be worn and thus provide an easy, and certain method of identification of colleagues so necessary now in view of the many new faces resulting from our steady expansion of membership.

## Differential Salaries

Our proposals for differential salary scales based upon categories of employment related to the type and form of employment and the varying levels of responsibility that exist have been placed before the Adjustments Board and preliminary talks have been held. If agreement is reached in general principle and we can accept scales we shall have a big job of work before us in grading all appointments.

The present basic salary level will, of course, not alter—this is merely taken as the base from which the varying categories (with their appropriate salary levels) are projected. Much more detail on this scheme will be put before members during the year.

At long last the Party is to implement the Training and Recruitment Scheme proposed by the union nearly two years ago. Indeed, certain changes have been made at Transport House which I understand are related to this scheme and some information has already gone out to Regional Officers. When it is established and on its feet the Party will have a recognised channel through which the right type of young men and women can

*(Continued foot of next column)*



# New Appointments

**MR. E. V. REES**, ASSISTANT REGIONAL Organiser South-West Region was appointed Regional Organiser for the South-West at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee. At the same meeting Mr. R. G. Hayward, Secretary/Agent Rochester and Chatham Constituency Labour Party was appointed Assistant Regional Organiser, Southern Region.

Mr. Rees has been a full-time Agent since 1927, when he was appointed for a By-Election in Bristol West. Prior to his appointment as Agent there, he held office as a Ward Secretary, Divisional Secretary and Registration Officer.

He became Secretary of Bristol Borough Labour Party and Secretary of Bristol Trades Council, a joint full-time appointment. During the war he served as T.U.C. Liaison Officer for the South-West.

He was an Agent during the General Elections of 1929, 1931 and 1935, and acted as Central Agent for Bristol's five seats at the 1945 General Election.

With the establishment of the South-West Regional Council of the Labour Party he was appointed Assistant Regional Organiser and worked with Mr. C. C. Jones, whose place he takes on the latter's retirement.

Mr. Hayward served for 3½ years as a certificated instructor at the R.A.F. School of Technical Training Organisation and Method and for two years was Chairman of the Further Education Committee at R.A.F. Bomber Command Headquarters.

After serving as full-time Agent at Banbury he transferred to Rochester and

Chatham and acted as Agent to Mr. A. G. Bottomley, O.B.E., M.P. in the 1950 General Election.

Other appointments were Mr. W. A. Masters, who takes up an appointment with Southend (West) C.L.P.

To Winchester goes Mr. J. A. Graham, while Clitheroe are to have the services of Mr. W. Poulton.

After 28 years Party and Trade Union membership, Mr. Ernest Platt has been appointed Agent to Blackpool Borough Labour Party.

An ex-Secretary of a League of Youth Branch, Secretary of the South-West Section of the British Federation of Co-op. Youth, and a National Executive member of the same organisation, 29-year-old Ennis Harris has been appointed to Bolton.

To Droylsden goes another young man, 28-year-old Norman Atkinson.

Again with the accent on youth, 23-year-old Peter Cameron takes over duties at Southport.

Cyril Hillam has been appointed to East Willesden.

Mr. S. I. Dyson has been appointed to the Attercliffe and Park Constituency Labour parties.

New Agent at Roxburgh and Selkirk is Mr. Owen Connelly, another young man who counts himself among the founder members of the Lanark Branch of the A.E.U.

Pentlands C.L.P. have appointed Mr. John Campbell as their Agent.

be recruited and trained both practically and theoretically in constituencies under supervision so that local Parties can, in time, be offered a panel of qualified people from which appointments might be made in consultation with Head Office.

This is a further step forward towards the National Agency Service which the Union desires to see and which we are convinced is the only practical way to deal with the Party's organising problem.

It will be interesting to note, later, when the scheme is further advanced, what

constituencies have been chosen as training grounds and as progress is made it would be an advantage if trainees could secure experience of more than one type of basic constituency organisation.

It should be known, and appreciated by the Movement, that the Union—in proposing the scheme saw that it could not be operated without direct and substantial financial help by the National Executive Committee. It is to the credit of this body that they accepted such an obligation without hesitation.

# London and Middlesex

By J. W. RAISIN, London Regional Organiser

SOON AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTION the National Executive Committee gave thought to the problem of organisation in the Greater London area.

There is, of course, no such place as 'Greater London', there are, instead, as Herbert Morrison long ago pointed out, numerous 'Londons'—from the Metropolitan Traffic Area covering 2,419 square miles to the City of London comprising 1.03 square miles. There is every sort of Local Authority, some being wholly within the metropolis and others only partly metropolitan, besides which we have a fine crop of 'ad hoc' bodies like the Metropolitan Water Board and the Port of London Authority.

Having regard to the peculiarities of London it was not surprising that the Party Organisation for London should assume a shape not found elsewhere in the country. The London Labour Party (which was founded in 1915) does not fit into any of the categories of Party Organisation to be found mentioned in the Model Rules.

It is not, for instance, a Regional Council, although it acts in such a capacity in a good many respects. It is not a Central Labour Party (as is the Birmingham Borough Party). And, of course, it is not a Constituency or Local Party. What is it then? It is the London Labour Party. Or rather, it was. Now it is the 'London Labour Party (comprising the Counties of London and Middlesex)'. That is the title decided upon by the National Executive Committee in arbitration between London and Middlesex.

## Conglomeration

The National Executive, looking at what we loosely call Greater London, quickly decided that whatever might be done in the matter of reorganisation, the boundaries of the party area must not cut across the areas of the administrative counties. This is a recognition of the importance of these units of local government and was, certainly, a very proper decision. However, Greater London (if by that is meant the Metropolitan Police District) contains not only the whole of the Administrative Counties of London and Middlesex, but parts of the Counties of Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent and Surrey,

as well as the County Boroughs of East Ham, West Ham and Croydon. And so it was decided that the party organisation of the two largest of these units—London and Middlesex—should be merged, leaving the rest of the Metropolitan area within their former party groupings.

The London Party and the Middlesex Parties were separately approached and after long, but very cordial discussion, agreement was found on the 'set-up' of the new Party. One or two matters were submitted to the arbitration of the National Executive Committee, both sides agreeing in advance to accept the National Executive Committee's decision as binding.

The new Party has just begun to function and its first Annual Conference under amalgamation was held on Saturday and Sunday, March 31st and April 1st.

## Task To Be Done

How will it tackle its job? Well, first let us see what the job is. Let us take a look at a few figures: Parliamentary Constituencies: 71 (Labour 42, Conservative 29). Administrative Counties: 2, London: Councillors, 63 Labour, 61 Conservative; Middlesex: Councillors, 23 Labour, 67 Conservative. Metropolitan and Municipal Boroughs: 43 (Labour 22, Conservative 21). Urban Districts: 11 (Labour 4, Conservative 7). Electorate at last General Election: 4,068,062 (Labour 1,586,072; Conservative 1,408,340; Liberal 282,578; Communist 27,541; Others 16,054).

It is not easy to sort out from these figures what constitutes the most important work of the Party. Clearly, we have to maintain and, if possible, increase the number of Labour Parliamentary seats. This area contains a substantial proportion of the 'marginal' constituencies; some are held (on both sides) by very slender majorities. London contains a substantial number of safe Labour seats and Middlesex a number of seats which the Tories class as safe for them.

It seems, on the face of it, a simple task to arrange our forces so that a concentration of workers is made upon the marginals.



This is by no means the case however, and for good reason. Our people are not pieces of machinery to be used just as some organiser thinks fit. They are citizens having close associations with their individual localities and while they are often willing to give assistance elsewhere in by-elections they feel very strongly their responsibilities in their own areas at General Elections. Nevertheless, it is clear that a work of great importance in the more effective direction of party workers lies in the forefront of the work of the new Party.

Another and very obvious 'must' is in raising the level of public interest in Middlesex County Council elections nearer to that obtaining in the elections for the London County Council. This is not a thing to be achieved in a hurry. It has taken many years of effort to create, in the public mind, an awareness of the political and public significance of the London County Council.

Other agencies have contributed to this steadily increasing public interest but there is no doubt that the London Labour Party has played the principal part. The Middlesex County Council is second only to the London County Council in the magnitude of its operations. It plays a direct (and growing) part in the lives of two-and-a-half million people.

The present Labour Group, ably led by Mr. George Pargiter, M.P., must be strengthened, if that be possible, at the elections in April, 1952, and all practicable steps towards that end will certainly have the support of the new Party. And this will have to be done without impairing our prospects at the L.C.C. Election, for this remains, in the public mind, the most important of all elections after Parliament itself.

The task of extending our hold over the Boroughs and Urban Districts must, of course, be carried on here as everywhere else and the services of the London Office will no doubt be extended to the full to meet the demands likely to be made upon it in the spring elections.

Altogether, this is a very big undertaking and no one on the staff of the London Office has any illusions about it, certainly not Don Daines, the Secretary of the London Labour Party. We think of this merger as providing both a challenge and an opportunity — a challenge to our capacity to do an even bigger job than in the past and an opportunity to create a finer and more worthy instrument for the furtherance of the Socialist cause.

## Honoured !

'HIGH MORAL and intellectual integrity united with a robust humour and kindly commonsense,' is how *The Huddersfield Citizen* describes Alderman Arthur Gardiner, O.B.E., J.P., who has for 25 years been Secretary-Agent of the Huddersfield Borough Labour Party.

The life story of Arthur Gardiner reflects years spent practically from boyhood in constant service to the Socialist Movement.

Away back in the days when a man made infinite sacrifices, both of leisure and comfort, were he in any way connected actively with the Labour Party, Mr. Gardiner was 'blacklisted' by employers as an 'agitator' and victimised on many occasions.

His subsequent mayoralty, his efforts in winning Huddersfield for Jimmy Hudson and 'Curly' Mallalieu, his undoubted success as a political organiser in other elections and his great and widespread personal popularity have not diminished his fundamental simplicity and immense gusto.

By way of thanks for all that he has done in Huddersfield, Mr. Gardiner was presented with a set of the Encyclopædia Britannica and a chiming clock.



AFTER NEARLY 30 YEARS' conspicuous service as Labour Agent for East Ham North, Mr. W. Stewart Rainbird retired recently.

At a presentation ceremony Mr. Rainbird was presented with a cheque for £125, and a wrist watch.

Mr. Percy Daines said that Mr. Rainbird had given the Labour Party a lifetime of selfless service and for nearly 30 years had served West Ham. His enthusiasm has been an inspiration to everyone with whom he came into contact. East Ham had not always been a Labour district but to-day it was almost a sign of respectability to be a member of the Party.

Despite his retirement, Mr. Rainbird told those present that he was wondering how he could get into the Movement in some other way and that he hoped to find some avenue for further service.

# Report Back from the Agents

CONTINUING THIS MONTH to look through the reports submitted by agents for the second half of 1950, one finds a similar story to that given in the last issue of *Labour Organiser*. From all over the country, including Scotland and Wales, the story of mounting membership and keen enthusiasm is repeated.

Education of members is a highlight in the report of Secretary-Agent Tolton at Lowestoft, particularly education in electioneering. He finds that such classes provide him with a nucleus of key workers well versed in electoral procedure.

Introduction of the 'Stym' method of canvassing into his constituency is reported by Secretary Laws of Reigate.

Coventry Borough Labour Party reports an increase of some 15 per cent of new members in the city's three constituencies during the year.

## 'Thank You' to Collectors

Agent D. J. Cousins of Ealing North does not forget when handing out the plaudits for work done during the year by members of his Party to include 'the army of voluntary collectors who throughout the year have diligently kept in touch with the membership'. In this respect he is almost unique in remembering to say 'thank you' to those important people without whom no party could function.

Among the bright spots of the report from Ron Brewer at Hornsey is his comment on a Christmas bazaar held by the Party. Apparently the crowd was one of the largest ever in the district, 4,000 people attending and, writes the Agent '... the crowd was much larger than our expectation so we were sold out almost by lunch-time'.

Going through the reports three factors become obvious. First, the awareness of most constituencies to General Election preparations, the building up of organisation and the getting together of active staffs. Second, the growing awareness to the value of literature distribution, particularly the Head Office publication, *Town and Country Post*, which is now circulating nationally. Third, the attention which Parties everywhere are giving to their local Press, being helpful, co-operating, and making sure that Labour does get some sort of a show.

At Blyth, membership over the year increased by almost 1,000 and, reversing the usual order there are more women members than men. Exact figures being: women, 1,794; men, 1,621.

Organising Secretary C. Coffey, of Nottingham, reports that during the year his office handled some 2,500 interviews, most of which necessitated inquiry and correspondence.

Continuing the story of mounting membership, Agent E. Short of North Somerset reports an increase of over 1,200 during the year. This constituency appears to be well served for local speakers. They are singled out for thanks in the Agent's report.

So, too, at Yeovil, where over 1,000 new members were added during the year.

Obviously proud, as they have every right to be, of their Annual Gala, Secretary Alfred Allen of Cannock tells in his report of how some 8,000 people turned out to the Gala last summer.

Birmingham Borough Labour Party have great ambitions for their particular membership—at least 50,000 during the next three or four years. Despite the fact that no city-wide organisation for membership campaigns could be undertaken during the year, reports Secretary Nash, 'we are pleased to report increased membership in the city of 4,414'.

With figures like that, the 50,000 target does not seem so far off.

Agent Cook at Pudsey reports that in the last three months of 1950, 4,500 electors in his constituency were visited on their own doorsteps and that his Party during the year earned for themselves 91 column inches in the local Press.

## Advice Bureau

At Rotherham, literature sales doubled during the year and their 'Can We Help You?' bureau dealt with over 1,000 cases in the year.

Wales, too, continues active, and from Conway comes news of a revived Party, active and go-ahead, with an excellent Women's Section.

Cardiff City Labour Party report an increase of six Trade Union branch affiliations during the year.

(Continued foot of next column)



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*(Continued from previous column)*

Monmouth C.L.P. is to have the assistance under a locally-organised Mutual Aid campaign this Spring of Newport, Ebbw Vale, Pontypool, Bedwelty and Abertillery, with canvassing and outdoor propaganda.

Agent J. Hodge of South Ayrshire, where there is already an individual membership of 2,640, added some 400 new members during the year, which, considering the scattered rural nature of the constituency, is quite a feat.

West Lothian, where James Boyle is Agent, continued during 1950 to keep its place among constituency parties boasting high membership. Despite their 3,500 members, however, Agent Boyle is now writing that it is within the bounds of possibility to double this membership and that an effort is to be made with this in view.

Agent W. D. Stansfield of Dartford has written reminding us that in our résumé last month we only quoted the membership of one local party—Erith—in his Division.

Actually, the individual membership in the Division, which also includes Dartford and Crayford, is 4,499, an increase during the year of 996. Of this considerable membership, 1,557 are women members.

## **Budget Day**

Have you ever noticed how quickly the evening newspapers get snapped up on Budget Day? There's almost nothing like it for clearing the news stands! On that day the economic, social and industrial state of Britain assumes headline importance. Yet such news isn't confined to Budget Day—and to those who take the nation's business seriously, it is always important. Labour's own newspaper, the DAILY HERALD, gives every available inch of space to such important topics; that is why the well-informed Labour supporter is a regular reader of the

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| Take Our Advice (Membership)       |   |                                      |
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| Meat                               |   |                                      |
| Steel                              | } | Carriage paid: 30s. per 1,000 copies |
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### PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS, ETC.

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| Labour and the New Society ...                       | } | Post free: 1 copy, 7½d.; 12, 5s.; 25, 9s.;   |
| (Policy statement)                                   |   | 50, 17s. 6d.; 100, £1 13s.   |
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|  |   | 100, 17s.  |
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| Marching On ...                                      |   | 50, 13s.; 100, £1 5s.  |
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|  |   | 100, 17s. 6d.  |
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| Fifty Facts on Housing ...                           | } | Post free: 1 copy, 8d.; 12, 5s.; 100,  |
| Guide to the Elements of Socialism ...               |   | £1 15s.  |
| Annual Conference Report, 1950 ...                   | } | Post free: 2s. 6d.   |
| Handbook, 1951: Facts and Figures for Socialists ... |   | Post free: <i>paper-bound</i> , 1 copy, 3s.; 12, £1 8s.; 50, £5 14s.; 100, £11 5s.; <i>cloth-bound</i> , 1 copy, 4s. 6d.; 12, £2 5s. |

### PERIODICALS

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Fact. The Labour Party Bulletin. Threepence monthly. Four shillings per year post free.                        |  |
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